

Report of the Mutual Security Agency
to the Psychological Strategy Board
on the National Psychological Effort
January 1 - June 30, 1953

(Part I: Europe)

1. Status of Programs

A. Tasks Assigned

The specific tasks of MSA are set forth by Congress in the Mutual Security Act of 1951, Sec. 2 (a): ".....to strengthen the mutual security and individual and collective defenses of the free world,..." and in Sec. 2 (b) of the Mutual Security Act of 1952: ".....the Congress believes it essential that this Act should be so administered as to support concrete measures for political federation, military integration, and economic unification in Europe."

The Information Division of MSA has had the job of helping to bring about the results set forth above by the media techniques common to information activity. Funds for this purpose have been available by authority of Sec. 115 (j) of the retained provisions of the Economic Cooperation Act, which orders the giving of "full and continuous publicity through the press, radio, and all other available media, so as to inform the peoples of the participating countries regarding the assistance, including its purpose, source, and character, furnished by the American taxpayer."

It is necessary to say at the outset that Information activity as such is simply an instrument that assists in attaining the objectives of policy. The very fact that there is a Mutual Security Program is the greatest

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 affirmative factor in MSA's psychological program. It is a mistake, in the opinion of MSA Information directors, for the United States in its public utterances to ^{over}emphasize the military aspects of its overseas economic program;

The MSA task in Europe during the first half of 1953 has been to create and to nurture in the minds of Europeans the faith that the United States would continue under the new administration to support mutual security activities on an effective scale. Its job also has been to keep its friends in power and to fight Communism.

B. Methods and Techniques Employed to Accomplish Tasks

instead of it should show how the military aspects of the program complement the total economy

Substantively, the MSA method of accomplishing its aims is to provide funds to help America's European friends produce needed materiel and to provide the leadership capable of leading and persuading them to act in the mutual interest. The off-shore procurement program is one example of the method employed. Placing of important "hardware" contracts at a strategic time during an election campaign is a refinement of such a technique.

The MSA Information Division has sought to get maximum useful effect from such substantive acts by publicizing them through all media, explaining the beneficial effect.

in conjunction with WSIS
 Thus, the Eisenhower April 16 speech was given maximum publicity--such as wide distribution of the full text--as evidence of U. S. devotion to peace and world economic progress. Thus also MSA built and financed large exhibits (which bore the names of local sponsors) for use in Italy during the election campaign, as an aid to the Embassy's public affairs office program. Currently MSA's regional office in Paris is concentrating on a program

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to arouse new interest in the shift of the productivity program to OEEC as evidence of European acceptance of the idea of productivity, European direction of the program, and continued U. S. support of European economic improvement. The recent East German riots against the Communist government are being pointed out--through indigenous outlets--as evidence that life under the Reds is unbearable for the worker. This is important in combating neutralist sentiment as in France and in helping to win workers away from the Communist-dominated labor unions.

- C. The media most in use are the conventional ones--the press, the radio, the cinema, exhibits at fairs and other gatherings, distribution of pamphlets, mobile units capable of reaching remote places and fitted out to make use of the cinema, the loud speaker, the poster--all audio visual devices. This is done everywhere in cooperation with the International Information Administration, and the proportion of expenditure and effort by media is governed by the experience of the country mission. Thus in Greece, the MSA has provided numerous community radio sets for remote areas, adding an estimated 2,000,000 listeners to U. S.-inspired programs over the Greek radio. A radio news service has been made available to broadcasters in several countries--the MSA messages being interspersed in the news. An example of fast, effective action was the making of a documentary film, "The Oldest Enemy," based on the Dutch floods of February and which showed how nations working together (actually, the NATO countries) could minimize the effects of catastrophe and by collective effort avoid catastrophe save in exceptional circumstance. This film, made within three weeks of the

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disaster, was shown in movie houses in many countries. The moral of the film was brought out by the deeds it pictured. The application of the lesson to the more abstract danger of the Russian menace was easy for the simplest of spectators.

D. What success was achieved in carrying out assigned tasks (in terms of B and C)?

The principal contribution that MSA has made to this type of activity is the development of a regional center capable of servicing and advising multi-national projects quickly.

Although subject to policy guidance and some budgetary direction from Washington, the regional Information center connected with the Office of the Special Representative in Europe was and is in many ways self-contained. It has learned that effective use can be made of talented non-Americans. Speaking the languages of the target groups, using skills and techniques familiar to those groups, such non-Americans have made much MSA/SRE-produced material more effective than had it been produced in America. European groups working toward the same goals of economic, political, and military unity that we seek have turned to the SRE for technical help as well as for funds. The word "productivite'" and what it means have become well known in Europe, where five years ago neither the idea nor the name was known to many. Now the idea represented by productivity has become a target of the Reds, a seeming indication that the idea is hurting them.

E. Tasks not carried out or not completed.

delete The tasks outlined in the MSA legislation cited above are not capable of complete achievement, save as the Russians would unify them as her captives have been "unified." The goals the U. S. has set as requested by

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MSA constitute a continuing campaign of persuasion, assistance, leadership. However, specific immediate gains contributing to the whole have been made. These include the re-election of the DeGasperi government in Italy, the actual beginning of operations of the Coal and Steel pool, and the decision by OEEC to administer the productivity campaign.

F. What ancillary results, if any, were obtained as a by-product of programs?

In seeking to counteract Red propaganda, MSA has in France been able to learn ahead of time, occasionally, what turn the next Red propaganda line would take.

G. Major obstacles or difficulties encountered

1. Increased feeling in Europe that present U. S. administration is controlled by "reactionary" or anti-European elements in Congress.

2. The "stretch-out" of U. S. contribution to NATO was allowed to become public under such circumstances that it was made to seem to Europeans that the U. S. was losing interest in NATO while asking its allies to add to their loads.

3. Responsiveness to the Soviet "peace offensive" by all but the most responsible European leaders.

4. Political jockeying in France, and to some extent in Italy and Germany, which subordinated foreign policy to party interests.

5. Ability of anti-American groups and some neutralists like Le Monde, to make propaganda capital of newsworthy events, like the Rosenberg case and the Rhee recalcitrance.

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6. Unfavorable reaction of many Europeans to the withdrawal of some books from American libraries abroad. The public conduct of the matter gave anti-Americans a good propaganda subject and gave pause to some of our friends.

7. Continued economic distress of lower income groups in Italy, France and Greece.

8. Growing conviction among many public opinion molders that EDC will not become a reality and that Russia does not contemplate armed aggression in the West in the discernible future.

9. The French government's inability to keep a Cabinet in office for some fixed period long enough for it to have a policy that it can be responsible for.

10. Occasional utterances by U. S. leaders which are made to seem to show that this government is not sure of its policy. The recent speech by Senator Taft which was interpreted as threatening a "go it alone" policy is of this category.

11. Occasional failures of coordination sometimes have adverse effects. A case in point was public testimony before a Congressional committee by an evaluation team leader who was critical of continued aid to Italy. This testimony would have been just as valuable for Congressional purposes after the June 7 Italian election as it was when given before the election--and it quite possibly figured in the way some votes went in a close election.

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2. Summary of major developments in Psychological programs
- A. (1) Principally, the letting of contracts under criteria that took into account economic and political conditions of that country and Europe as a whole, rather than the single criterion of cost. (2) Continuation of American forces in Europe and the appointment of a third American as commander of SHAPE. (3) Speedy assistance given the Dutch during the floods.*
- B. Public announcement of the letting of contracts was timed for the best effect psychologically. Thus signing of huge aircraft contracts with England, Holland, Belgium, and Italy was timed to occur during the April NATO meeting. Wide coverage was given the Dutch flood coordinated relief via all media, including a quickly-made documentary film.
- C. Principal developments during the reporting period were (1) further integration of MSA and State Department information programs, (2) the *recommendation* ~~decision~~ of the President to form one United States Information Agency using the resources of the present IIA and MSA, (3) the melding of the MSA and Point IV programs, which should make the same substantive resources go farther and which by indicating prolongation of technical and economic aid reassure our friends.
- D. Most significant is the close cooperation by SRE and the Defense Department in carrying out a program to smooth U. S. troop relations with local communities. The Armed Services have researched the problems involved, and SRE has with its resources in funds and technicians sought to provide the answers. Pamphlets, exhibits, and films are being produced for this purpose, and it appears as of this report that relations already are less

*See Addenda

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strained than they were six months ago. Explanation beforehand of why U. S. troops are there--that they are really NATO troops--is the key to the problem.

- E. MSA in Europe continues to work closely with other governments and with international groups, particularly NATO. A caravan explaining NATO, designed, operated and financed by SRE/MSA and sponsored by NATO, traveled in Greece and Turkey during much of the time covered by this report. It is now touring France again. The Train of Europe, under OEEC sponsorship, has been touring the continent. Coverage of NATO maneuvers for and in conjunction with other agencies has been the rule. MSA has assisted groups like the European Movement and the Union of European Federalists to carry on their unifying work, as well as the ICFTU in aiding the free trade union movements.

3. Significant changes which have occurred since the previous report.

(a) Change of U. S. administration with consequent European "wait and see" psychology; (b) Death of Stalin and accession of either new dictator or an oligarchy, with the same "wait and see" psychology natural to Western Europe; (c) Soviet "peace offensive," for whatever it may mean; (d) Korean situation (hoped for armistice and Rhee complication); (e) East Berlin riots and Czechoslovak riots, indicating possible other explosions for which plans should be made; (f) dragging of the EDC ratification schedule; (g) Change in SRE organization and in Paris regional U. S. Representative; (h) Yugoslav, Turkish, Greek pact.

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General Observations

1. MSA in cooperation with State and Defense has worked out a plan for continued analysis and evaluation of Information programs in Europe and elsewhere. Implementation of the idea has been stymied by a directive from Washington suspending all public opinion surveys abroad. Such surveys are valuable and can be conducted via private agencies without necessarily embarrassing the U. S.

no forthright evidence of a rise in neutralism
2. The outstanding psychological characteristic of Europe today is the majority of the people of every nationality trust the good intentions, good faith, and ability to act effectively of the U. S., but on the contrary, are skeptical of the abilities and ultimate intentions of other European countries.

debate [Thus because the U. S. belongs to NATO, a majority of all peoples have faith in NATO. Possibly because the U. S. does not figure in EDC, there is relatively little popular demand for creation of EDC.]

3. The recognition of the U. S. desire to improve Europe's overall economic health (as exemplified by ECA) is consistent with the European's belief in U. S. good intentions and relative unselfishness. Emphasis on strictly military aspects is not good psychologically, because it gives the Reds an "I told you so" line, and because military emphasis is misleading. A war industry like any other creates the wages and the demand for other consumer goods, which demand aids the general economy.

debate [4. Broadcasting and other communications facilities ought to be established in the Yugoslav mountains. Belgrade and Zagreb are too vulnerable.]

5. It is noteworthy that while the "peace offensive" has cut down Russian "hate America" material, local Communist parties have not lessened their harping on this theme.

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Addenda

1. The granting of \$50,000,000 for stockpiling and other purposes in West Berlin, and its announcement during the East German riots, is another example of substantive action being taken at a propitious time and favorably exploited.

2. The up-coming MSA pact with Spain already presents an Information problem which will become more acute as the treaty is signed. Many European friends of the United States want to know how we justify helping Franco Spain. The Information Officer in Norway has cited the need for a statement on this subject. A Belgian exchange student stated the problem thus: "I have listened to VOA and have been impressed by American idealism. How can you help Spain and keep on talking the way you do on VOA?"

3. The signing of the Foreign Aid bill by the President will offer a new opportunity for a strong statement similar to the April 16 speech. The Mutual Security Act's statement of purpose emphasizes America's interest. A statement by the President re-emphasizing the broader philosophy of mutual aims of the common man would be of great psychological value.

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(Part II: Far East)

1. Summary of Program

A. Tasks assigned Mutual Security Agency

*new Far East
action to be
substituted*

No tasks per se have been assigned MSA for the Far East area in the overall psychological program. In the Far East Missions of the Philippines, Formosa, Associated States of Indo-China and Thailand, the major role of MSA/Special Technical and Economic Missions is one of technical assistance aiming at strengthening the people through improvement of health, food production, education, and their general economy. The psychological effects grow out of such technical assistance programs. The data given in the following pages are with this background.

B. Methods and techniques employed in accomplishing these tasks.

The primary information work of the MSA/STEMS has been (a) general information aimed at getting understanding and acceptance of the MSA program, (b) support information aimed at getting positive support of specific programs in health, agriculture, etc.; and (c) strengthening the communications and information work of the participating governments.

This work has been carried on through the usual channels of press and photo stories, newsreels and motion pictures, radio programs; wall newspapers, posters, picture leaflets, pamphlets, calendars, regular magazines and the like. In some instances, this work has lead to the establishment of photo laboratories, motion picture production units, radio transmission stations, and printing plants.

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C. Concepts of operations in the Far East

The high level of illiteracy has given emphasis to the use of pictorial forms of communication: motion pictures, posters, picture leaflets, exhibits, cartoon strips and the like.

Deeds count more than words in proving our friendship and good intentions.

D. What success was achieved in carrying out the assigned tasks.

All the MSA/STEMs have publicized the activities of MSA with specific regard for the programs designed to strengthen the local governments and people, the friendship of the American people, and the progress towards improving health, food production and the economic strength of the people.

In Formosa, the magazine "Harvest" has reached a circulation of 42,000 with the subscribers paying a portion of the cost. It is hoped that within the coming year this can be entirely self-supporting. The more than 18,000 farmers cooperatives established by the Joint Commission for Rural Reconstruction are well circulated with this and other material. The programs of MSA are well received and publicized by the local press and radio.

In the Associated States of Indo-China, the establishment of the Dong Quan resettlement center for farmers harrassed by the guerilla warfare of the Viet Minh has been most successful. The country journal has maintained a circulation in excess of 100,000. The Fair at Kermesse was attended by over 1,200,000 people. This fair was a joint USIS/MSA operation. The exhibit was around the theme "Toward Peace in Viet Nam", and illustrated the natural resources of Viet Nam, the friends of Viet Nam, and the military, economic and productive power that supports the free world in its

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struggle to establish peace and security. The Mission has undertaken the training of specialists in graphics and of propaganda specialists selected by the French and Viet Nam. In each case, there is a desire to continue such training programs. The radio programs specially geared in with the villages are increasing in popularity.

In Thailand, the use of joint USIS and MSA exhibits has expanded with the Thai government duplicating many of the exhibits and giving them further circulation.

In the Philippines, MSA has assisted the government in the development of its information activities and has helped materially the campaign of the Philippine Government for peace and order.

- E. None to be reported
- F. Ancillary results - None
- G. Major obstacles

In Formosa, one of the major obstacles has been the change in the thinking of the general officials of the Nationalist Government, a change that has its reflections among the Taiwanese officialdom and other leaders. Always there has been the thought of "the day" when the Nationalists would return to China. With the recent developments in American policy (removal of the Sixth Fleet, decision not to use Chinese troupes in Korea, etc.) there has developed the general feeling that this "day" is far distant if not entirely ephemeral. The idea of the Nationalists' stay in Formosa being a more or less permanent one has caused a growing apathy amongst the officials of the Nationalist Government and a growing concern among the leaders of the island.

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In Indo China, there is reported to be measureable obstructionism hampering the technical assistance program of the U. S. This would probably be increased by the arrival of French technical assistance groups, since it would mean one more group through which the Americans must work. See TOMUS A-508.

In the Philippines, the general turmoil of the elections with the tendency to charge undue influence by Americans has caused a general lessening of activity.

2. Summary of major developments in the psychological programs during the reporting period.

Since the operations of the Far East STEMS are not a part of an overall psychological program, there is nothing to report under this section.

3. Significant changes which have occurred since the period covered by the preceding report. (Far East-Philippines, Formosa, Associated States of Indo China, and Thailand)

Gradually during the reporting period, the emphasis of the work of the MSA/STEMS has moved from general information to more emphasis on program support and the build-up of the local government's information services. This change will continue in the coming period, as MSA withdraws entirely from the area of general information.

The withdrawal of the U. S. from all technical assistance to Burma, at Burma's request, has had a salutatory effect in proving to all people, particularly those in Thailand and Associated States of Indo-China, that

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America's assistance is truly cooperative, and is not intended to be imposed where not wanted.

The increase in the number of technical assistance publications with their immediate usefulness to the general populace has increased the general favor with which Americans are regarded. Everywhere there is an increase in American publications, and in imitations of them, and in American popular records.

4. B. Substantive subjects or activities which cut across area lines

(1) Role of Japanese

Conditions remained fairly unchanged since last report with one exception. The Philippines are softening their antagonism to the Japanese.

5. Steps taken to implement approved PSB plans.

This phase of the work has been handled by U.S.I.S. In most instances, the Country Plan has been developed with the close cooperation and assistance of MSA officials.

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**Project Obligations and Estimated Personnel and Administrative Support Obligations
(In Millions of Dollars and Dollar Equivalents of Foreign Currencies)**

Carry-over Funds

Available for

Obligation after

June 30, 1953

None

	<u>FY 1951</u>	<u>FY 1952</u>	<u>FY 1953</u>
1. <u>General Administration</u>	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000
2. <u>Public Health</u>	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000
3. <u>Education</u>	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000
4. <u>Transportation</u>	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000
5. <u>Other</u>	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000
Total	5,000,000	5,000,000	5,000,000

20.5

FY 1954	FY 1955	FY 1956	FY 1957	FY 1958
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7.6

Infor

by Reorganization Plan No. 8

Notes:

1. The FY 1954 figure of \$7.6 million is scheduled for transfer to the new USIA under Reorganization Plan No. 8. This figure excludes \$7.0 million of Mutual Security Information themes already transferred to International Information Administration by the Bureau of the Budget and merged with the IIA Program and FY 1954 appropriation request currently before Congress.
2. Figures for FY 1951, 1952, and 1953 include small amounts for MSA audio-visual training and other information support of Technical Assistance activities in the Far East, but exclude amounts for similar support by Technical Cooperation Administration of its Point 4 activities.

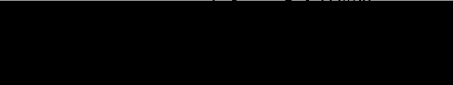
June 30, 1953

ROUTING AND RECORD SHEET

INSTRUCTIONS: Officer designations should be used in the "TO" column. Under each comment a line should be drawn across sheet and each comment numbered to correspond with the number in the "TO" column. Each officer should initial (check mark insufficient) before further routing. This Routing and Record Sheet should be returned to Registry.

FROM:				NO.	
PP/PY/LN 1309 K				DATE JUL 2 1953	
TO	ROOM NO.	DATE		OFFICER'S INITIALS	COMMENTS
		REC'D	FWD'D		
1. PP/PY/LN				25X1A9A	Comments due by July 7
2.					Called Maalony Brown July 6 on both Defense & WSA. He says both are going to have down the self-congratulation some what. file (Semiannual 10/1)
3.					
4.					
5.					
6.					
7.					
8.					
9.					
10.					
11.					
12.					
13.					
14.					
15.					

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TRANSMITTAL SLIP		
25X1A9A <i>5 July</i>		
TO:		
BUILDING	ROOM NO.	
REMARKS:		
<p><i>Mike - I have read this. I found nothing on which I could comment. Has copy gone to each division for comments? Seems they could agree or disagree with state (ex)</i></p>		
FROM:		
BUILDING	ROOM NO.	EXTENSION
FORM NO. 36-8 SEP 1946		
16-56208-1 GPO		

ments of fact and
claims of accomplishment
in the various areas of
the world.

25X1A9A

